

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 03375 011846Z

47

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-19 IO-14 SAJ-01

SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SAM-01

SS-20 RSC-01 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00

TRSE-00 PRS-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 /128 W

----- 084759

O 011832Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0800

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T BONN 03375

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S BONN VISIT

REF: STATE 040589

1. REFTTEL PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT REVIEW OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES MOST LIKELY TO ARISE IN SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS IN BONN. THE EMBASSY OFFERS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ON BERLIN .

2. BERLIN: FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY (FEA). THE ISSUE OF FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE FACTOR IN GERMAN DOMESTIC POLITICS. BRANDT AND BAHR PROBABLY FAVOR A MORATORIUM OF SOME DURATION IN EFFORTS TO INCREASE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN, BUT IT WOULD SUIT THEIR PURPOSES IF THE RESPONSIBILITY COULD BE LAID AT THE DOOR OF THE THREE POWERS--OR THE THREE PLUS THE RUSSIANS. THEY WANT TO ENSURE THAT, IF THERE ARE DIFFICULTIES ON THE FEDERAL PRESENCE ISSUE, THESE DO NOT REFLECT ON THE SPD OR ON THEM PERSONALLY. IT IS SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 03375 011846Z

PRESUMABLY WITH THIS IN MIND THAT BAHR HAS SHOWN CON-

SIDERABLE INTEREST IN BRINGING ABOUT FOUR POWER CONSULTATIONS PURSUANT TO THE FQP. IN ADDITION, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN BONN, SAUVAGNARGUES, IS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN SOME FORM OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. THE BRITISH HAVE NOT YET TAKEN A FIRM POSITION, BUT THEIR AMBASSADOR IN BONN TOOK THE INITIATIVE RECENTLY TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT AN "INFORMAL" MEETING OF THE FOUR AMBASSADORS IN BERLIN. THE SOVIETS ARE OF COURSE FREE AT ANY TIME TO REQUEST CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE FQP.

THUS, WHILE WE SHOULD NOT OURSELVES TAKE ANY INITIATIVE TOWARD INFORMAL OR FORMAL CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE FQP, IT MAY BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR US TO AVOID CONSULTATION IN SOME FORM, DUE TO THE PRESSURE OF OTHERS.

REFTEL STATES: "... WE WOULD PREFER TO TELL THE FRG THAT WHILE THE ALLIES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR DECIDING THE LEGALITY UNDER THE QA OF MEASURES CONCERNING BERLIN, IT IS UP TO THE FRG IN THE LAST ANALYSIS TO DETERMINE WHETHER A LEGALLY PERMISSIBLE ACTION IS POLITICALLY DESIRABLE AT ANY GIVEN TIME ..."

WE TOOK THIS POSITION IN RECENT BONN DISCUSSIONS OF THE PROPOSED BUNDESTAG PRAESIDIUM MEETING IN BERLIN AND RAN INTO DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GERMANS AS WELL AS THE FRENCH AND BRITISH. THE GERMANS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT ASSUME SOLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POLITICAL DECISION IN ANY GIVEN CASE. THEY FELT THIS WAS A DECISION FOR THE THREE POWERS AT LEAST AS MUCH AS FOR THEM.

A MORE FEASIBLE AIM MIGHT BE TO BRING THE THREE POWERS AND THE GERMANS TO JOINT DECISIONS ON THE FEDERAL PRESENCE ISSUE, WITH SHARED POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE THREE POWERS HAVE SUPREME AUTHORITY IN WEST BERLIN. IN FRG PRESENCE MATTERS, WHICH CAN BE OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE TO THEM, IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM ALWAYS TO TRY TO SLOUGH OFF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY ON THE GERMANS. IF WE WERE TO CONFINE THE EXERCISE OF OUR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 03375 011846Z

AUTHORITY ON FRG PRESENCE MATTERS TO STRICTLY LEGAL INTERPRETATION, THE EFFECT COULD BE TO INCREASE THE FRG'S POLITICAL ROLE NOT ONLY WHEN THIS SUITS US, BUT ALSO IN CASES WHEN WE WANT THEIR ROLE TO BE MUTED. IT IS IN ANY CASE HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT WE WOULD IN PRACTICE BE ABLE TO PERSUADE THE GERMANS TO ACCEPT SOLE RESPONSIBILITY.

IN FACT, BAHR HAS TOLD US THAT IF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT  
IS PUT IN THE POSITION OF HAVING TO ASSUME THE FULL  
RESPONSIBILITY OF NEGATIVE DECISIONS IN THE FACE OF  
OPPOSITION CRITICISM IN THE BUNDESTAG AS WELL AS  
CRITICISM FROM THE WEST BERLINERS, IT WILL ALWAYS DE-  
CIDE IN FAVOR OF INCREASED FEDERAL PRESENCE (LEAVING US  
IN EFFECT, TO PICK UP THE PIECES).HILLENBRAND

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** martinml  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974BONN03375  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740376/aaaacsma.tel  
**Line Count:** 122  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** STATE 040589  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** martinml  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06 MAY 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2002 by martinml>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SECRETARY'S BONN VISIT  
**TAGS:** OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** AMMAN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005